

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

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TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USNATO
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 043990

E.O. 11652:XGDS-1

TAGS: PEPR, TU, UR

SUBJECT: TURKISH-SOVIET POLITICAL DOCUMENT

REF: ANKARA 1051

1. WE HAVE SEVERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEGOTIATION OF A
POLITICAL DOCUMENT WITH THE SOVIETS WHICH CAN BE PASSED,
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AT YOUR DISCRETION, TO THE MFA (PARA 2 BELOW). THE
EMBASSY SHOULD MAKE CLEAR THAT THESE ARE BASED ON PAST US
EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS, AND THAT WE ARE
NOT NECESSARILY IMPLYING THAT THEY ARE RELEVANT TO
TURKEY'S SITUATION. NOT ONLY DO WE WISH TO AVOID GIVING
ANY IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE "INTERFERING," BUT WE ALSO
WISH TO AVOID RAISING SUSPICIONS THAT OUR OBSERVATIONS ARE

DESIGNED TO UNDERCUT TURKISH BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS.

2. IN GENERAL, COUNTRIES WHICH ARE CONTEMPLATING POLITICAL AND OTHER AGREEMENTS WITH

MOSCOW SHOULD BE PREPARED, AND MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT THEY ARE PREPARED, TO UNDERGO A LONG AND CAREFUL NEGOTIATION, HOPEFULLY UNRUSHED BY A DEADLINE SET BY, FOR

EXAMPLE, A HIGH-LEVEL VISIT. THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION SHOULD SEEK TO TABLE, AND WORK FROM, ITS DRAFT BEFORE THE SOVIETS TABLE THEIRS. SOVIET POSITIONS AND CONCERNS NEED NOT BE ANTICIPATED -- A COUNTRY SHOULD AVOID THE TEMPTATION TO INCLUDE IN ITS DRAFT GIVE-AWAY LANGUAGE FOR THE SOVIETS, IN THE HOPE THAT MOSCOW WILL IN TURN BE MORE WILLING TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE OF IMPORTANCE FOR THEIR NEGOTIATING "PARTNER" IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP IN MIND THAT THE SOVIETS ARE HARD BARGAINERS AND TEND TO HAVE A QUID-PRO-QUO NEGOTIATING STYLE -- THEY WILL ASSUME THAT WHATEVER POSITIONS THE OTHER SIDE TABLES ARE MEANT TO BE BARGAINED DOWN. THUS, A FIRST DRAFT TO THE SOVIETS SHOULD MAXIMIZE THE COUNTRY'S CONCERNS. ANY GOVERNMENT NEGOTIATING WITH MOSCOW, FURTHERMORE, SHOULD BE FIRM AND UNEQUIVOCAL ON ITS OWN POSITIONS AND NOT HESITATE TO USE DELAY IN RESPONDING TO SOVIET COUNTER-PROPOSALS, EVEN WHEN CONFIDENTIAL

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DELAY MAY NOT BE NECESSARY. NOR SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT QUICKLY DISCARD SOME OF ITS "THROW AWAYS," WHICH WILL ONLY ENCOURAGE THE SOVIETS TO PROBE FOR MORE.

3. IN TERMS OF THE ACTUAL SUBSTANCE AND DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY OF THE AGREEMENT, THAT IS CLEARLY ANKARA'S BUSINESS. POSSIBLE ISSUES OF INTEREST MIGHT INCLUDE 1) NON-INTERFERENCE IN EACH PARTY'S BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL RELATIONS WITH THIRD COUNTRIES AND GROUPS OF COUNTRIES; 2) RESTRAINT IN THIRD AREAS, AND/OR A PLEDGE NOT TO BECOME MILITARILY INVOLVED IN THIRD AREA DISPUTES; 3) A GENERAL COMMITMENT TO FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ALL CSCE PROVISIONS; AND 4) EXCHANGES IN THE SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL, AND OTHER FIELDS BETWEEN ORGANIZATIONS, INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS, REPEAT INDIVIDUALS.

4. MANY OF OUR OBSERVATIONS ON NEGOTIATING WITH THE SOVIETS ARE HARDLY NEW OR SURPRISING (PARTICULARLY SINCE THE TURKS HAVE BEEN TO THE NEGOTIATING TABLE WITH THE SOVIETS BEFORE). WE ARE OF COURSE WILLING TO EXCHANGE FURTHER VIEWS IF THE MFA SO DESIRES.

5. FYI WE POUCHED TO EMBASSY ANKARA ON FEBRUARY 10 A COPY
OF THE US-USSR "BASIC PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS" OF MAY 29,
1972. IT SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, BE VOLUNTEED TO MFA UNLESS
SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED. WE DO NOT WISH TO APPEAR TO BE
OFFERING A MODEL DOCUMENT AS A "GUIDE" FOR THE TURKS. VANCE

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